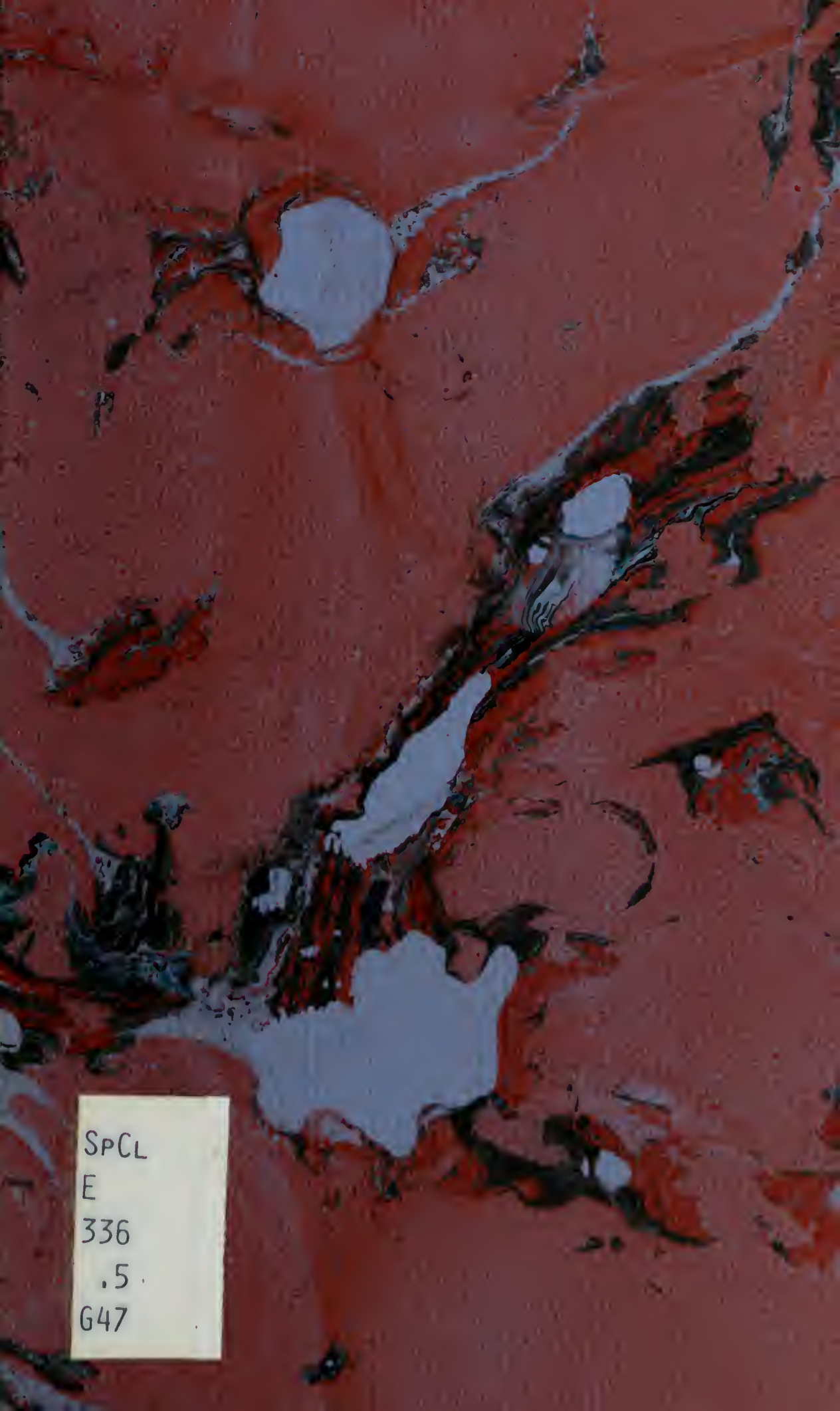

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MR. GILES' SPEECH,

DELIVERED

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

ON

Thursday, 24th November, 1808, *on the Resolution of Mr. Hillhouse, to repeal the Embargo Laws.*

MR. PRESIDENT,

HAVING during the recess of Congress retired from the political world, and having little agency in the passing political scenes, living in a part of the country too, where there is little or no difference in political opinions, and where the embargo laws are almost universally approved ; I felt the real want of information upon the subject, now under discussion. I thought I knew something of the general objects of the embargo laws, and I had not been inattentive to their general operations upon society, as far as I had opportunities of observing thereupon.

When I arrived here, and found that this subject had excited so much sensibility in the minds of many gentlemen I met with, as to engross their whole thoughts, and almost to banish every other topic of conversation ; I felt also a curiosity to know what were the horrible effects of these laws in other parts of the country, and which had escaped my observation in the part of the country in which I reside. Of course, sir, I have given to the gentlemen who have favored us with their observations on both sides of the question under consideration, the most careful and respectful attention, and particularly to the gentlemen representing the eastern section of the union, where most of this sensibility had been excited. I always listen to gentlemen from that part of the U. S. with pleasure, and generally receive instruction from them ; but on this occasion, I am reluctantly compelled to acknowledge, that I have received from them less satisfaction, and less information than usual ; and still less conviction.

It was hardly to have been expected, Mr. President, that after so many angry and turbulent passions had been called into action, by the recent agitations throughout the whole U. S. resulting from the elections by the people, to almost all the important offices within their gift ; and particularly from the elections of electors for choosing the President and Vice President of the U. S. that gentlemen would have met here perfectly exempt from the feelings, which this state of things was naturally calculated to in-

spire ; much less was it to have been expected, sir, that gentlemen who had once posessed the power of the nation, and who, from some cause or other, had lost it ; (a loss, which they now tell us they *but too well remember;* and I fear, might have added, *too deeply deplore,)* gentlemen too, sir, who at one time during the electioneering scene, had indulged the fond and delusive hope, that through the privations neccessarily imposed upon our fellow-citizens, by the unexampled aggressions of the belligerent powers, they might once more find their way to office and power, and who now find themselves disappointed in this darling expectation. It was not at all to be expected, sir, that these gentlemen should now appear here, perfectly exempt from the unpleasant feelings, which so dreadful a disappointment must necessarily have produced. It was a demand upon human nature, for too grest a sacrifice ; and however desirable such an exemption might have been at the present moment, and however honorable it would have been to those gentlemen, it was not expected.

But, sir, I had indulged a hope that the extraordinary dangers, and difficulties pressed upon us, by the aggressing belligerents, attended too, with so many circumstances of indignity and insult, would have awakened a sensibility in the bosom of every gentleman of this body, which would have wholly suppreesed, or at least suspended, these unpleasant feelings, until some measures, consulting the general interests and welfare of the people, could have been devised, to meet, resist, and if possible, to subdue the extraordinary crisis. But, sir, even in this hope too, I have been totally disappointed. I was the more encouraged in this hope, when upon opening this debate the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Hillhouse) seemed sensible of this sacred obligation, imposed by the crisis, when he exhorted us in conducting our deliberations, utterly to discard the influence of party spirit. It would have given me great pleasure, sir, if the gentleman had afforded us a magnanimous example of a precept so admirably suited to the present state of things. But in this too, sir, I have been unfortunately disappointed. That gentleman's observations consisted almost exclusively of retrospective animadversions upon the original objects and horrible effects of the embargo laws, without seeming to think it was worth his attention, to favor us with any reflections upon the prospective course of measures, which the people's interests, the public safety, and general welfare so imperiously demand. That gentleman represented the embargo laws, as mere acts of volition, impelled by no cause or necessity ; whilst the British orders, and French edicts, were scarcely glanced at, and certainly formed the least prominent feature of his observations. He represented these laws as a wanton and wicked attack upon commerce, with a view to its destruction, whilst he seemed scarcely to have recollected the extraordinary dangers and difficulties,

which overspread the ocean—indeed, sir, he described the ocean as perfectly free from dangers and difficulties, unruffled by any storms, and that we had nothing to do, but to unfurl our canvass to the wind, that it would be filled with prosperous gales, and wafted to the ports of its destination, where it would be received with open arms of friendship and hospitality. I wish, sir, with all my heart, the gentleman could but realise these dreaming visions; their reality would act like a magic spell upon the embargo laws, and dissipate them in a moment! But, alas, sir, when we come to look at realities, when we turn our eyes upon the *real dangers and difficulties which do overspread the ocean*, we shall find them so formidable, that the wisdom of our undivided counsels, and the energy of our undivided action, will scarcely be sufficient to resist and conquer them. To my great regret, sir, we now see, that the U. S. cannot even hope to be blessed with this union of mind and action, although certainly their dearest interests demand it.

Mr. President, perhaps the greatest inconvenience attending popular governments consists in this; that whenever the union and energy of the people are most required to resist foreign aggressions, the pressure of these aggressions presents most temptations to distrusts and divisions. Was there ever a stronger illustration of the truth and correctness of this observation than the recent efforts made under the pressure of the embargo laws: The moment the privations, reluctantly but necessarily imposed by those laws, became to be felt, was the moment of signal to every political demagogue, who wished to find his way to office and to power, to excite the distrusts of the people, and then to seperate them from the government of their choice, by every exaggeration, which ingenuity could devise, and every misrepresentation, which falsehood could invent; nothing was omitted, which it was conceived would hsve a tendency to effect this object. But, Mr. President, the people of the U. States must learn the lesson now, and at all future times, of disrespecting the bold and disengenuous charges and insinuations of such aspiring demagogues. They must learn to respect and rally round their own government, or they never can present a formidable front to a foreign aggressor. Sir, the people of the United States have already learnt this lesson. They have recently given an honorable and glorious example of their knowledge in this respect. They have in their recent elections, demonstrated to the nation, and to the world, that they possess too much good sense to become the dupes of these delusive artifices, and too much patriotism to desert their government, when it stands most in need of their support and energy.

The gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Hillhouse) has made the most strict, and I had almost said, uncharitable scrutiny into the objects and effects of the embargo laws, in the delusive hope, I presume, of obtaining a triumph over his political adversaries. I

propose to follow the gentleman, in a fair and candid comparison of information and opinions upon this subject: and I shall do so in the most perfect confidence, that, whenever a thorough examination of the objects and effects of the embargo laws shall be made known, and the merits of the measure fully understood, that there is not a man in the U. S. who will not applaud and support the administration for its adoption. who has the uncontaminated heart of an American throbbing within his bosom.

Mr. President, I have always understood that there were two objects comtemplated by the embargo laws The first, precautionary, operating upon ourselves—The second, coercive, operating upon the aggressing belligerents. Precautionary, in saving our seamen, our ships and our merchandise from the plunder of our enemies, and avoiding the calamities of war. Coercive, by addressing strong appeals to the interests of both the belliggerents. The first object has been answered beyond my most sanguine expectations. To make a fair and just estimate of this measure, reference should be had to our situation at the time of its adoption. At that time, the aggressions of both the belligerents were such, as to leave the U. S. but a painful alternative in the choice of one of three measures, to wit: embargo, war, or submission. I know that this position has not been admitted, though but faintly denied, in the discussion. I shall however proceed upon this hypothesis for the present, and in the course of my observations will prove its correctness by the statements of the gentlemen in favor of the resolution.

Before the recommendation of this measure, the laudable and provident circumspection of the administration, had obtained tolerably correct estimates of the amount and value of the ships and merchandise belonging to the citizens of the U. S. then afloat; and the amount and value of what was shortly expected to be afloat; together with a conjectural statement of the number of seamen employed in the navigation thereof.

It was found that merchandise to the value of one hundred millions of dollars was actually afloat, in vessels amounting in value to twenty millions more—That an amount of merchandise and vessels equal to fifty millions of dollars more, was expected to be shortly put afloat, and that it would require fifty thousand seamen to be employed in the navigation of this enormous amount of property. The administration was informed of the hostile edicts of France previously issued, and then in a state of execution, and of an intention on the part of Great Britain to issue her orders, the character and object of which were also known. The object was to sweep this valuable commerce from the ocean. The situation of this commerce was as well known to Great Britain as to ourselves, and her inordinate cupidity could not withstand the temptation of the rich booty, she vainly thought within her power.

This was the state of information at the time this measure was recommended.

The President of the United States ever watchful and anxious for the preservation of the persons and property of all our fellow-citizens, but particularly of the merchants, whose property is most exposed to danger, and of the seamen whose persons are also most exposed, recommended the embargo for the protection of both; and it has saved and protected both. Let us now suppose, for a moment, that the President, possessed of this information, had not apprised the merchants and seamen of their danger, and had recommended no measure for their safety and protection? would be not in that case, have merited and received the reproaches which the igrorance or ingratitude of merchants and others have so unjustly heaped upon him, for his judicious and anxious attentions to their interests? It is admitted by all, that the embargo laws have saved this enormous amount of property, and this number of seamen, which, without them, would have forcibly gone into the hands of our enemies, to pamper their arrogance, stimulate their injustice, and increase their means of annoyance.

I should suppose, Mr. President, this saving worth some notice. But, sir, we are told that instead of protecting our seamen it has driven them out of the country, and into foreign service. I believe, sir, that this fact is greatly exaggerated. But, sir, suppose for a moment that it is so, the government has done all, in this respect, it was bound to do. It placed these seamen in the bosoms of their friends and families, in a state of perfect security; and if they have since thought proper to abandon these blessings, and emigrate from their country, it was an act of choice, not of necessity. But what would have been the unhappy destiny of these brave tars, if they had been permitted to have been carried into captivity, and sent adrift on unfriendly and inhospitable shores? Why, sir, in that case, they would have had no choice; necessity would have driven them into a hard and ignominious service, to fight the battles of the authors of their dreadful calamities, against a nation, with which their country was at peace. And is the bold and generous American tar to be told that he is to disrespect the administration for its anxious and effectual attentions to his interests? For relieving him from a dreadful captivity? Even under the hardships he does suffer, and which I sincerely regret, every generous feeling of his noble heart would repel the base attempt with indignation. But, sir, the American seamen have not deserted their country; foreign seamen may and probably have gone into foreign service; and, for one, I am glad of it. I hope they will never return; and I am willing to pass a law in favor of the true hearted American seamen, that these foreign seamen never should return. I would even prohibit them from being employed in merchant vessels. The American seamen have found em-

ployment in the country; and whenever the proper season shall arrive for employing them on their proper element, you will find them, like true birds of passage, hovering in crowds upon your shores.

Whilst considering this part of the subject, I cannot help expressing my regret, that at the time of passing our embargo laws, a proportion of our seamen was not taken into the public service; because, in my judgment, the nation required their service, and it would have been some alleviation to their hardships, which the measures peculiarly imposed upon them, as a class of citizens, by affecting their immediate occupation; and the other classes, as well as the public treasury, were able to contribute to their alleviation; and I am willing to do the same thing at this time. Indeed, its omission is the only regret I have ever felt, at the measures of the last Congress. I like the character—I like the open frankness, and the generous feelings of the honest American tar; and, whenever in my power, I am ready to give, and will with pleasure give him my protection and support. One of the most important and agreeable effects of the embargo laws, is giving these honest fellows a safe asylum. But, sir, these are not the only good effects of the embargo. It has *preserved our peace—it has saved our honor—it has saved our national independence.* Are these savings not worth notice? Are these blessings not worth preserving? The gentleman from Delaware, (Mr. White) has, indeed, told us, that under the embargo laws the U. States are *bleeding at every pore.* This, surely, sir, is one of the most extravagant effects that could have been ascribed to these laws by the frantic dreams of the most infatuated passions. Blood letting is the last effect, that I ever expected to hear ascribed to this measure. I thought it was of the opposite character; but it serves to show that nothing is too extravagant for the misguided zeal of gentlemen in the opposition. I have cast my eyes about in vain to discover those copious streams of blood; but I neither see nor hear any thing of them, from any other quarter. So far from the U. S. bleeding *at every pore*, under the embargo, it has saved them from bleeding *at any pore*—and one of the highest compliments to the measure is, that it has saved us from the very calamity which the gentleman attributed to it; but which thanks to our better stars and wiser counsels, does not exist.

The gentleman from Connecticut, (Mr. Hillhouse) not content with describing the general horrors of the embargo laws, has addressed himself in plaintive tones, to several particular classes of citizens and has kindly informed each of his particular hardships and sufferings. The gentleman asks what has become of the merchant? What has become of the farmer? I know something of the situation of the farmer; and, as to the merchant, I had felt serious apprehensions for his situation, until they were materially

relieved by the information given by the gentleman. The gentleman tells us, that the great capitalists do not suffer ; they are in favor of the embargo ; but the young, dashing, enterprizing merchant, without capital, is destroyed. This statement is highly honorable to the embargo laws, and proves a great deal. The capitalist, who has property, finds its security under the embargo ; he is therefore in favor of the measure ; but the merchant, who has nothing, is deprived of an opportunity of making something out of that nothing. But his rights are not affected by the embargo ; he is left in the enjoyment of the nothing he possesed ; and has no reason to complain that the embargo does not give him something without laboring for it. I regret, however, that these merchants, without capital, have lost the chance of making their fortunes by the embargo ; but even the most of these, the gentleman tells us, would probably have become bankrupt, by their wild speculations, even if the embargo were not in being ; and of course, their situation cannot be much worsted by it.

But, Mr. President, I am willing to admit, that there are many worthy merchants of small capital, who do suffer by the suspension of their employment ; and I am very sorry for them : but this suffering is incidental to every coerced state of things ; and is attributable, not properly to the embargo, but to the causes that rendered its adoption indispensable.

The gentlemen, however, tell us, with the most sympathetic feelings, that the ships of the great capitalists are rotting at our wharves, and yet these capitalists are in favor of the embargo. Why, sir, this is a very plain case, when stript of its exaggerations. The ships are precisely twelve months older than they were twelve months ago ; and the owners would rather have them there, with this difference of age and proportionate decay, than to see them torn away by lawless plunderers, and wholly lost forever. But, sir, what would have become of many of these capitalists, if it had not been for the embargo ? Their property would have been plundered, and they become bankrupts. Is it any wonder then, sir, that these men should be in favor of the embargo ? Review, then, this statement made by the gentlemen, respecting the merchants, and what is the actual result ? Why this, sir—that, although they do suffer by the necessary interruption of their particular occupation, (a suffering I deplore as much as any gentleman in the United States) yet the real owners of the property do not complain ; and almost the only grumblers are those who have nothing to grumble about.

But, says the gentleman, what has become of the farmer ?—The gentleman knows that I am a Farmer, and that I have long borne the appellation with sincere pleasure ; I may, therefore, be presumed to know something of the situation of the Farmer ; and not only in my own name, but in the name of the whole happy,

useful, and honourable fraternity of American Farmers, I will tell the gentleman what that situation is at this moment. The American farmer is now enjoying the fruits of his honest industry, in peace, and security, blessed at the same time with every political, social, and domestic enjoyment, perfectly exempt from all vexations, and I had almost said taxations, and with pleasure beholds a surplus of fourteen millions of dollars in the public treasury, after paying every debt, which could be demanded of the honor of the Government. All these blessings too, are sweetened by the noble consciousness that they are enjoyed by him as a freeman, and by a constant recollection, and perfect confidence, that he is protected in this enjoymont, by a government which will never basely surrender his rights, nor the national sovereignty, to any foreign aggressor upon earth. Blessed with all these uninterrupted enjoyments, I agree perfectly in sentiment with the gentleman from New-York, (Mr. Mitchill) that with a heart overflowing with the most grateful affections, he should render thanks to the author of all good, that in the bountiful dispensations of his providence, he has been pleased to pour so many blessings into the lap of the American Farmer!! Grumbling and repining, when thus favored, would, in my judgment, be impiety to Heaven, and ingratitude to his own Government.

The gentleman does not tell you, sir, that the Farmer wants any thing, but that he has plenty over much. The puzzle is, to know what to do with the surplus plenty. And how does the gentleman advise the farmer to dispose of it? Why he tells him, raise the embargo, and it will increase the price of your surplus produce; and for this supposed difference in price, he advises the farmer to sell his own freedom and his country's independence, and in this contemptible and miserable barter, to purchase his own and his country's vassalage—to cease to be a freeman, and to become a slave! To give up the noble feelings, inspired by liberty and freedom, and to descend to the abject and ignominious existence of a slave without any mental feeling whatever. Sir, let me tell the gentleman in my own name, and in the name of every farmer in the United States, that we would repel with indignity and indignation, the disgraceful golden allurement, even if it could be realized. But, sir, dishonorable as the allurement is, it is fictitious, it is visionary. It could not be realised. I believe, and every sensible farmer will believe, that he has for the last ten months obtained more for his surplus plenty under the embargo, than he could have done in any other state of things which was in the choice of the Government. Let us suppose that the immense mercantile capital which is admitted to have been saved by the embargo, had been seized and carried into foreign ports, and there condemned—what would have been its effects on the mercantile capital of this country? It would have so crippled our

merchants, that they would not have been able for a long time to purchase the surplus produce of the nation.

But that is not all, these merchants would have claimed indemnification from the government for losses which, in that case they would have urged, were sustained by its culpable neglect: and they would have plunged us into war, to repair so great an injury inflicted upon the nation; the foreign plunderers too, would have told us, that they cared but little about war, as they had taken from us sufficient means for defraying its expense. Thus, in that state of things, a war would have been inevitable; and, would you tell the farmer, that he would get more for his surplus produce in time of war, than he has received since the embargo? Sir, the farmer knows too well the calamities of war, to be thus deluded by these visionary golden dreams. In the event of a war, he would not have received as much for his surplus produce, as under the embargo laws: hence, it obviously appears from a fair estimate of pounds, shillings, and pence; (since we are compelled to resort to that standard, as the only orthodox test of our national honor, national sensibility, and even national independence) yes, Sir, even according to that sordid standard, the farmer would have been the looser. Besides, Sir, to say nothing of the increased taxes, and other burthens indispensable to the support of war, who can count its chances, or limit its duration? Who can calculate its demoralising consequences? But calamitous as war is, the American farmers would with eagerness encounter all its terrors, rather than surrender their own liberties, and the nation's honor, independence, and sovereignty—let us then for a time, Sir, bear our present privations—let war be the last experiment.

But, Sir, I will mention another circumstance, which may be some alleviation to the farmer, for the difference in the price of his surplus plenty now, and in ordinary times. When the price of produce is low, the temptation to raise large crops will be lessened, and the farmer will turn a certain portion of his labor to the improvement of his farm. The high prices of produce heretofore have induced the farmer to impose too much upon his land; too great demands have been made on it, and it has been in some degree exhausted. The embargo has apprised the farmer of this important circumstance, and taught him his true interest in this respect. I have observed a great change in the application of labor in this respect, and I have no doubt a general sentiment exists in favor of a still greater change; a greater portion of labor is also converted into household manufactures, which will lessen our demand and dependence upon foreign nations. In both these respects, I believe the operation of the embargo is favorable to the farmer, at the present moment, and will certainly be favorable to posterity by transmitting to it a more fertilized soil for cultivation. It will be favorable, at the present moment, in this respect; that before

the adoption of the embargo, the farmer was tempted to apply too great a proportion of his labor to the annual increase of crops, and too small a portion of it to the permanent improvement and fertilization of his farm. I mention this as an alleviation, not as a complete exemption from the effects of the embargo, and its so far producing a beneficial influence upon cultivation and internal improvement.

I hope by this time, Mr. President, that the gentleman will concur with me in opinion, that the situation of the American farmer is rather enviable than miserable—That he has good sense enough to make a just estimate of his own interests, and possesses too much honorable sensibility not to repel with indignation every attempt to seduce him into a disgraceful surrender of his own liberties or his country's independence.

Let us now take a view of its effects upon some other classes of our fellow citizens, which seem almost to have escaped the gentleman's notice ; or at least not to have excited so much of his plaintive sympathies : I allude to the manufacturer, the mechanic, and the laborer. The manufacturer seems to be in such a state of prosperity, as rather to have excited the gentleman's jealousy, than his tender commiseration ; he fears that the real object of the embargo was to erect the manufacturing system upon the ruins of commerce. I do not mean here, Sir, to reply to the suggestion of this unfounded jealousy. I mean, in the course of these observations, to make that a subject of distinct and seperate examination. I shall here, however, take the liberty of remarking, without the fear of still further exciting the gentleman's jealousy, that I am extremely happy to see not only that we have abundant fabrics for manufactures, but that we have artizans sufficient to mould them into all the articles necessary for home consumption, and thus lessen our dependance upon foreign nations for our supply. I rejoice indeed, to see our infant manufactures growing into importance ; and that the most successful experiment has attended every attempt at improvement. What is the situation of the mechanic, and the laborer ? They have full employment, good wages, and cheap living. I am told, Sir, that within the last year, one thousand houses have been erected in Philadelphia ; I see at this time, more houses building at Georgetown, even for mercantile purposes, and more improvements in this City, than ever I have seen before ; and I believe this generally to be the case throughout the country. That this is a correct statement of facts, I have no doubt ; how then is this agreeable and unexpected scene accounted for, amidst this mercantile clamor about the stagnation of business ? It is because a greater proportion of the overgrown mercantile capital, is now diverted from external commerce, to internal improvements ; and I am strongly inclined to think that this transposition of a certain portion of the mercantile capital,

will produce a beneficial operation in a national point of view, and probably even more productive to the capitalist, than risking it in the employment of foreign trade. This I believe to be a fair, just, and candid statement of the operation of the embargo laws, upon the several great classes of citizens; and when correctly viewed, how different is its aspect, from the miserable picture of horrors presented to us by the gentleman from Connecticut. When you tell a mechanic or a laborer of his distresses and sufferings, when he has full employment, good wages, and cheap living, he would laugh at you; he would either think you silly, or that you meant to treat him with indignity and insult. These are all the blessings he could wish, and they are enough for any man to posses, when he reflects upon the narrow span of human enjoyments, this world affords—Sir, the miserable laborer on the other side the Atlantic, would consider the enjoyments of the laborers here, Elysium itself; and, I can but lament for the sake of suffering humanity, that it cannot find the way to these enjoyments. I presume that during the late electioneering scene, that every laborer and mechanic in Pennsylvania, was told a thousand times that he was ruined by the embargo; but thirty thousand votes (majority) have told these frantic, officious disturbers of the public quiet, in loud and awful tones, how silly and ridiculous they consider the suggestions. The recent elections in most of the other states, speak the same emphatic language.

I have been thus minute, Mr. President, in the examination of this part of the subject, as well to relieve ourselves from the miseries and apprehensions of our own deluded imaginations, as to relieve foreign nations, as far as was within my power, from their delusions, which I shall show in the course of my observations, are the principal if not the only cause of the very hardships and sufferings so loudly and causelessly complained of by some gentlemen. Now, Sir, take an impartial review of the effects of the embargo laws, as operating upon ourselves, and what is the actual result? Why, Sir, as far as they were precautionary, their success has been complete; and whilst in their general operations, they have been attended with some privations and sufferings, they have not been without their beneficial effects on society.

The gentleman next triumphantly tells us, that the embargo laws have not had their expected effects upon the aggressing belligerents. That they have not had their complete effects; that they have not caused a revocation of the British orders and French decrees, will readily be admitted; but they certainly have not been without some beneficial effects upon those nations. Let me, however ask, Sir, is this failure a cause of triumph to the gentleman? Does he feel more pleasure in the delusive expectation of a triumph over a political adversary, than in the triumph of the nation over our common adversaries? Are his political feelings so

strong, that they are to be indulged, even at the expense of his own and his country's interests? Does he vainly suppose, that, disregarding or postponing all consideration of the people's interests, when their all is at stake, to the indulgence of these petty animosities, will give him a just claim to the people's applause? If he does, Sir, he is mistaken. It is by the reverse of this conduct that he can lay any just claim to their applause. It is by banishing his prejudices—it is by conquering his own passions, and by devoting the whole energy of his mind to their service, at this critical moment, that he can be justly entitled to their applause. This would be for him a glorious triumph—a triumph over his own passions; and it would secure him the public approbation, because the conduct would be right. Let us then, Sir hope for this conciliation, which would be so honorable to ourselves, and would promise so much advantage to the nation.

In this spirit of conciliation and patriotism, then, Mr. President, let us enquire, first, what have been the actual effects of the embargo laws upon the aggressing belligerents? And, secondly, what are the actual causes of their failure of complete success?—The first enquiry involves much mercantile information. I have only some views of general mercantile principles—I know little or nothing of their operative details—I had, therefore, hoped for much information upon this part of the subject from gentlemen who possessed it; but have received very little satisfaction from them in that respect.

The first effect of the embargo laws upon the aggressing belligerents, was to lessen their inducements to war, by keeping out of their way the rich spoils of our commerce, which had invited their cupidity, and which was saved by those laws. If they had once possessed themselves of this enormous booty, it would have been a sure pledge for open and direct war. It would have defrayed the expenses of the war for several years. If they had not gone to war, they would have been compelled either to restore the captured property, or to make indemnification for it. Its amount alone, would have been a sufficient security against either of these acts of justice. And is it not better, that this enormous amount of property should be on this side of the Atlantic, than on the other? In the hands of its lawful owners than in the hands of unprincipled freebooters? Is it not better that it should be drawn to our aid in the event of war, than applied to aid our unjust adversary? Upon this point, I presume, there can be but one opinion.

The second effect which the embargo laws have had on the aggressing belligerents is to enhance the prices of all American produce, especially articles of the first necessity to them, to a considerable degree, and, if it be a little longer persisted in, will either banish our produce, (which I believe indispensable to them) from

their markets altogether, or increase the prices to an enormous amount; and, of course, we may hope will furnish irresistible inducements for a relaxation of their hostile orders and edicts.—However I may generally respect the mercantile information of the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Lloyd) and the gentleman from Conn. (Mr. Hillhouse) they appear to me on this occasion, not to have been very correct. I have before me, two Prices Current from Liverpool, the one of the 8th, the other of the 20th September last. They, I presume, were written under no political bias, favorable to the United States. Let us draw our facts from them. I will begin with the article of the first necessity in Great Britain, and one which, at all times, excites her highest sensibility. She manifests, at all times, more anxiety about her Corn Laws, than any other subject of her political economy. This is a necessary result from the peculiar state of her population.

Let us then enquire what is the present state of bread stuffs in Great Britain. In the Liverpool Price Current of the 8th Sept. I find this information upon this subject. "Our grain market for the most part of the last month was very dull; however, within this day or two there have been some extensive sales made of New-York wheat at 13s 3d per 70lb. and the holders now demand 13s 6d a 14s for prime parcels, which may possibly be obtained, as the appearances for the harvest in most parts of this kingdom are not quite so favorable as was at first thought, the late heavy rains having proved injurious in many places, and the grain is much lighter in the ear than former seasons; but as the dealers and country millers buy only to supply their immediate wants, we do not calculate upon a material improvement on the annexed prices, unless some export ven to Spain or our West-India colonies takes place. Good sweet American flour is not to be had in this market.

In the Price Current of the 20th I find these observations:—"Large speculations have lately been made in Tobacco, in consequence of our stock becoming limited; but should the embargo be raised, this and every other description of your produce must very materially decline in price, wheat and flour excepted. Our stocks of grain are but moderate, although we have been much favored in our harvest."

What reflection does this information naturally present to the mind? That the crop is limited—that bread stuffs are high, and likely to be higher—that there is such a deficiency of bread stuffs that our whole supply will not depress the market, even in the event of raising the embargo; and certainly continuing it, (which does not seem at all calculated upon in England) would lessen the quantity, and raise proportionably the demand and price.

The gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Hillhouse) tells us, we cannot starve Great Britain, she being mistress of the trade of the

world, will supply herself with bread stuffs from other quarters, and particularly from Spanish America. I never heard it suggested, except by the gentlemen in the opposition, that we could starve Great Britain; but, that through our produce, particularly our bread stuffs, we could make a strong appeal to her interests. This fact is demonstrated to my mind. The Liverpool merchants differ with the gentleman in his mercantile information. They tell us that our whole supply of bread stuffs will not depress their market. If a ready supply could be obtained elsewhere, upon better terms, there would be no need of a supply from us. But when has it happened, that Spanish America could afford this supply? So far from affording a supply to Great-Britain, it gets a portion of its own supply from us.—The gentleman tells us, that Spanish Americans export great quantities of hydes and tallow.—That is true.—These however, are not bread stuffs. It is not pretended that Great Britain is in want of meat, but bread; bread is an essential of life—meat is no substitute for bread—it could not prevent even a famine. These documents also go to show the reason of the low price of New-York flour, quoted by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Lloyd.) It is because the flour was not sweet. It had been so long kept, as to become sour.—I have no doubt that the British cabinet is now looking at this subject with great anxiety; and particularly at our movements in relation to it. Again, Sir, suppose Great Britain should be able to provision her islands, it would be at such an expensive rate, as to render them very unprofitable.

The next important article is Cotton. Let us see the prices current respecting that article. —

"The operations in our Cotton market during the whole of last month have been immense, while our total imports are inadequate to one half the usual monthly consumption; as the stocks of this article have become more depressed, the speculators continue purchasing with increased spirit, and many of them have already realised considerable profits; we therefore quote an advance on all descriptions of Cotton of from 4d to 6d per lb. above our last month's rates, which has principally occurred within the last ten days; but we must beg leave to remark, that such unexampled advances are scarcely ever so well maintained as when they are gradually established, and some occurrence may perhaps shortly take place to put a stop to further speculations; we are, however, of opinion, that prices may yet be driven considerably higher, although they have to encounter an extremely bad trade in Manchester."

"West India Cottons have advanced nearly in the same proportion as American, and the recent arrivals have fully brought the annexed prices, with every appearance of much higher being realized."

"In Cottons we have a great stir; and should we not soon have arrivals from the Brazils, prices must be enormous."

Here the Liverpool merchants tell us, not only that the prices are extremely high, and may be driven much higher, unless some occurrence (to wit, raising the embargo) may perhaps shortly take place, to put a stop to further speculation; but *that the total imports are inadequate to one half the usual monthly consumption.*—Now, Sir, whence is one half of the usual consumption of Cotton to be supplied to the British market.—The Liverpool merchants seem totally at a loss for a supply from any place; but the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Hillhouse) has pointed out several places of supply—The East and West Indies; and even Africa has been resorted to.—They have supplies from all these places now, and yet the Liverpool merchants tell you, that the whole imports are not equal to one half the monthly consumption. I therefore have no confidence in the statement made by the gentleman. With respect to the illustration of his position, by stating the supposed analagous case of his butter merchants, I shall make no reply. Its fallacy was ably demonstrated by the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Crawford.) I will only incidentally remark however, that it is the first time I ever recollect to have seen that gentleman in debate, when it appeared to me, that he did not know on which side *his own* bread was buttered.

But the gentleman tells us, that the provident British government, has sent Cotton seed to Africa to answer a supply of Cotton; that Cotton is an annual plant, and of course a competent supply may be produced from that quarter. I am inclined to think, that this provident government does not rely much upon this resource. Because I imagine the whole quantity of seed sent thither, would not be equal to the offal from one good South Carolina plantation; and although Cotton is certainly an annual plant, yet the conversion of the labor of society from one occupation to another, is not the effect of an annual effort. It is one of the most difficult operations to be performed on society. I therefore feel no apprehension of a supply from this source, at least, for many years.—If Great Britain should be cut off from one half of her supply of Cotton, it would certainly place the many thousand manufacturers employed in the various branches of the Cotton business, in a state of great distress; and must command the attention of the British government.

The next article I shall mention is the article of timber or lumber. I mention these articles particularly, in relation to the supply of the West Indies; and the rather, as the traders to these islands have been foremost in urging the British hostile orders.—I recollect sometime since to have seen a report made, I believe to the House of Commons, shewing the proportion of these articles imported to the West Indies, from the United States, in re-

lation to the same articles, imported thither from all the rest of the world ; and the proportion of these articles was 99 in the 100, imported from the United States. It is known that these articles are indispensable to the exports from those islands ; particularly rum, sugar and molasses. And I am at a loss to know from whence these articles can be supplied, except from the U. S. It should also be recollected, that timber and lumber are not of annual growth, they are part of the veteran sturdy oak itself; and therefore that their deficiency cannot be so easily supplied as is suggested in relation to cotton.

The next article I shall mention is tobacco—What says the Liverpool merchants respecting this article ?

" During the last month, tobacco has experienced some fluctuation, and sales have been made at prices under those quoted : but some considerable orders having appeared for export, the market has again settled at these rates, and if any opening to the continent of Europe, through the medium of Holland, should be found, an advance may be expected ; on the contrary, if we have only our home consumption to depend upon, little alteration can take place until the sentiments of the American government be known at the meeting of Congress in November next."

It is admitted that tobacco is not an article of the first necessity, it is however material to the manufacturer, and highly important to the revenue.

Naval stores are, also, certainly entitled to some consideration, although some supply of those articles is now furnished from Sweden.

I have selected these articles as specimens of the intimacy and importance of the commereial connection between the U. S. and Great Britain : and to demonstrate, that it cannot be withdrawn on our part without essentially affecting her interests. Again, sir, what effect will this recession of intercourse have upon the revenue of that country ? I shall make no minute estimate, but it will certainly have an affect which cannot be disregarded ; and the rather when it is recollected that Great Britain has imposed an export duty of 4 per cent upon her goods sent to the United States, which produces to her, an annual revenue of about $600,000, probably much more ; and that this is a discriminating duty against the U. S. which ought to have been repelled the moment it was laid—and especially, as it was avowed, that it was imposed upon the U. S. with the view of placing them on the same footing with the British colonies.

The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Lloyd) tells us, even suppose that your embargo laws drive fifty thousand, or more, manufacturers from their employment in Great Britain, it will only add to her naval and military strength. It would only give her fifty thousand seamen and soldiers more than she now has.

This, sir, is an unfortunate specimen of the prosperity which G. Britain is supposed to derive from the embargo laws. If I am rightly informed, generally, and particularly by the learned gentleman from N. York, (Mr. Mitchill) of the materials of which the manufacturers consist, I am disposed to think they would make poor seamen and sorry soldiers. I do not think the world would have much to fear from their prowess. They are fit for manufacturers, and nothing else ; and if driven from their habitual employments, they must starve, or become a charge upon the nation. But, Sir, the conversion of fifty thousand productive, into fifty thousand unproductive, and even expensive, laborers, could not contribute much to the wealth or power of any nation ; and such an operation in Great Britain, where the poor rates are sufficiently high already, would command the serious attention of the government.

There is something essential to the physical power of a nation, besides the number of seamen and soldiers. It is money—it is revenue. This operation upon labor, could not be productive of revenue, but would be an enormous charge upon it. I am therefore inclined to think that the British cabinet would not feel any great obligation to the gentleman for his ingenious discovery.—All these considerations must present strong inducements to Great Britain to revoke her hostile orders ; but she has hitherto refused to do so.

Let a candid enquiry be now made into the actnal causes of this refusal. The gentleman from Massachusets, (Mr. Lloyd) informs us, that the British cabinet shewed some solicitude about the embargo laws, till some time between the 22d of June and the 29th of July last, within which time, information flowed in upon them, which relieved them from this solicitude, and reconciled them to the embargo. [Mr. Lloyd rose to explain. He said he referred to the months of June and July, without mentioning any particular days of those months.] I admit that the gentleman did not mention the particular days ; I took the particular days for greater precision, from the correspondence between Mr. Pinkney and Mr. Madison, from which I presume the gentleman had drawn his information.

What was the information that flowed in upon the British cabinet, from the 22d June to the 29th of July? That period announced two events. First, the wonderful revolution in Spain ; altho' this event must have been pretty well understood in London before even the 22d June, perhaps not to its full extent. The other event was, the paltry attempt at the resistance of the embargo laws in Vermont, magnified into a formidable insurrection against the government ; and the unhappy discontents manifested in Boston and its neighborhood, together with the results of the elections in Massachusetts. All these circumstances were certainly greatly

exaggerated, or, perhaps, utterly misrepresented. Here, then, Sir, we clearly discern the real causes of the refusal of the British cabinet to meet the just and honorable proposition of the United States, and to revoke their orders in council. The Spanish revolution, no doubt, contributed to their determination ; but the principal cause, was our own divisions and discontents, either wholly misrepresented or highly exaggerated.

Before the 22d June, Mr. Pinkney and Mr. Canning were engaged in the most informal and friendly communications : Mr. Canning had gone so far as to intimate to Mr. Pinkney, that he might in a few days expect to be able to communicate to his government, some agreeable intelligence, evidently meaning, either the revocation or relaxation of the hostile orders.—But, unfortunately, shortly after the 22d June, the packet arrived with this flood of disgraceful information from the United States. Immediately after the receipt of this information, or rather misinformation, Mr. Canning changes his conduct. All informal conferences with Mr. Pinkney are denied, and a formal note demanded, in reply to which, the note of refusal was returned, marked, as we have seen, with indignity and insult to the United States.

Now, Sir, let me ask, whether these facts do not demonstrate, that the continuation of the hostile orders is principally, if not solely owing to the dishonorable divisions and discontents in this country, and the exaggerated accounts given of them to the British government? That events in Spain alone, however intoxicating to the British cabinet, were not, of themselves, sufficient to produce this effect ; because they were known before the change in Mr. Canning's conduct took place, and had not produced that effect : But, the moment the extravagant accounts of the discontents and divisions in this country were received, was the moment of change in Mr. Canning's conduct, and, therefore, must be considered as the real cause that produced it. Besides, Sir, was not this change of conduct the natural effect of this disgraceful information ? When Mr. Canning was informed that the people of the United States had become false to themselves ; had refused to bear the necessary privations, imposed by the government ; had, in fact, separated themselves from their own government—that they would elect persons to office, who would, voluntarily, yield obedience to Mr. Canning's orders—what inducement could he have for their revocation? If obedience and submission were gratuitously tendered by the people of the United States, he had certainly nothing to do but graciously to accept them ; and his note affords full evidence of this impression on his mind. The refusal of the British government, to revoke their hostile orders, therefore, appears not to have been founded upon a calculation of its interests upon correct information ; but upon a miscalculation of its interests upon misinformation. How much, then, is it to be

lamented, Mr. President, that our sufferings and privations should be continued, by the discontents, which were intended to remedy them? How can the authors of these discontents, reconcile their conduct to the nation, or to their own consciences? What compensation or atonement can they ever hope to make to the people for the protractions of their privations and sufferings? What, for the disgrace brought upon the nation? What for all the horrors and calamities of war, which may, and probably will be, the consequences of such conduct? Let the infatuated authors of it answer these questions. Ages of services cannot atone for these cruel, these unfortunate errors.

It is asked Sir, how do the embargo laws operate on France? It is readily admitted, that the commercial connection between the United States and France, is not of such a nature as to make a suspension of it operate as injuriously to France herself, particularly in the interior, as on Great Britain.—But our commerce cannot be deemed unimportant to France in the feeble state of her navy. At the time too, of laying the embargo, Spain, Portugal, and Holland, were in alliance with, or in subjection to France.—Its pressure was materially felt by Spain and Portugal from their want of provisions; and it is questionable, how far that measure contributed to the convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French army.—The want of provisions being one ground alledged for their late convention for that purpose.

The French West India islands too, have felt the pressure with great severity.—They are at this moment in a state of blockade—There were probably two objects in this blockade—The one to reduce the French Islands for want of provisions—The other, to seize upon our merchant ships, which it was presumed would hasten thither immediately upon raising the embargo. And it appeared extremely well timed to effect that object, if Congress upon their first meeting, had been weak or pusillanimous enough to have raised it. The loss of these islands, would be severely felt by the French emperor, and would probably produce some regret on his part, in having contributed to drive the United States to the extremity of the embargo laws.

But Sir, gentlemen are very much alarmed at an expression in a late French expose—They have made some general allusions to it, but in so vague a manner, as not to be understood with precision. As I am always fond of a correct statement of facts, I will read the expression probably alluded to. "The Americans, a people who involve their fortunes, their prosperity, and almost their existence in commerce, have given an example of a great and courageous sacrifice. They have suspended by a general embargo, all commerce and all navigation, rather than shamefully submit to that tribute, which the English impose on the navigation of all nations."—I cannot conceive the importance attached

to this expression, or the view with which it was introduced. It is to be remarked that this is the character given to this measure throughout all Europe, and by none more loudly and decisively, than by the *federal American* merchants now in Great Britain.

It is only on this side of the Atlantic, that we hear it described as a weak or wicked measure. But what of all this, Sir. Will this French expression change the real character of the measure? Shall we change our own opinions of the true character of the measure because the French government has thought proper to pronounce an opinion upon it?—Are we told to abandon our own right of judging of our own measures, because the French government officiously undertakes to judge for us? Sir, to me it is perfectly indifferent, what the French government thinks upon the subject; I shall take the liberty of exercising my own judgement upon it, perfectly exempt from any extraneous influence whatever.—

Mr. Canning, Sir, has also undertaken to say something respecting the character of the Embargo laws. Let us hear what he says upon the subject.

"If considered as a measure of impartial hostility against both belligerents, the embargo appears to his majesty, to have been manifestly unjust, as according to every principle of justice, that redress ought to have been first sought from the party originating the wrong. And his majesty cannot consent to buy off that hostility, which America ought not to have extended to him, at the expense of a concession made, not to America, but to France.

"If, as it has more generally been represented by the government of the United States, the embargo is only to be considered as an innocent, municipal regulation, which affects none but the United States themselves, and with which no foreign state has any concern; viewed in this light, his majesty does not conceive that he has the right or the pretension to make any complaint of it; and he has made none."

"His majesty would not hesitate to contribute in any manner in his power to restore to the commerce of the United States its wonted activity; and if it were possible to make any sacrifice for the repeal of the embargo, without appearing to deprecate it as a measure of hostility, he would gladly have facilitated its removal as a measure of inconvenient restriction upon the American people."

Let me now ask *you*, Mr. President, what feelings must rush themselves into *your bosom*, upon hearing this last, this arrogant insinuation? What must be the feelings of every war-worn veteran, who has so long enjoyed the pleasing consciousness of having been instrumental in achieving his country's independence? What must be the feelings of every young American who has not basely degenerated from his father's virtues? Do you not see,

Sir, in this sentence almost a direct overture of the interference of his most gracious majesty in our political concerns? Do you not see the vain and idle effort to encourage discontents by the expression of his majesty's good disposition to interpose his good offices to relieve the American people from the inconvenient restrictions imposed on them by their own government? What indignity, what insult could be greater upon the American people? What could more clearly demonstrate the infatuation, the intoxication of Mr. Canning's mind, produced by the unfortunate flood of mis-nformation which had poured in upon him? The American people will repel the overture with indignation, with disdain; and, Sir, as a sure and pleasing anticipation of this result, I rejoiced to see the indignant resentment manifested by the gentleman from Delaware (Mr. White.) It was the more honorable to him, Sir, because it was the triumph of his American feelings over a host of prejudices with which I fear he is surrounded. I always knew that gentleman to be a patriot, and when it shall become necessary, I expect to see him amongst the foremost in the ranks of honor, in the defence of his country's rights.

Yes, Sir, this insulting overture will doubtless burst the strong fetters of the prejudices of thousands of other American patriots, who will rally to the standard of their own government, and will teach Mr. Canning, how little he knows of American character, or the American sensibility, when he thus ventures to insult it.

Sir, the sentiments contained in this extraordinary note of Mr. Canning's, are not new to me. I have seen them for some months in some of the Boston newspapers—it contains nothing more than the ridiculous intimations contained in them, reduced to the form of a diplomatic note, not at all improved, nor dignified, nor better calculated to effect their object, by the sarcastic insolence of Mr. Canning.

Upon an impartial review of the whole of this part of the subject, Mr. President, I think I am warranted in the conclusion, that the embargo laws have not been without materially beneficial effects upon both the belligerents—that they have presented strong appeals to the interests of both; but that these appeals have not produced their complete effect:—I have no hesitation in saying, Sir, that when the proper time shall arrive, if these orders and decrees should unfortunately be persevered in, I shall, for one, be ready to make still stronger appeals to their interests—appeals limited only by the whole force and energy of the nation.

I think also, Sir, I am warranted in concluding, that if the embargo laws have failed of complete success, their failure has been owing to extraordinary causes, which could neither have been foreseen nor anticipated at the time of the adoption of the measure, and therefore cannot furnish any imputation against its policy or wisdom.

Permit me, now, Sir, to make some observations upon the general character of this measure, as well as replies to some of the more general objections brought against. I have said, Sir, that there are no substitutes for the embargo, but *war or submission*. I will now proceed to prove this position—a repeal of the embargo without a substitute, is *submission*, if with a substitute, it is *war*. Gentlemen in the opposition, seem fully sensible of the delicacy and urgency of this part of the question. When pressed for their substitute, they manifest vast reluctance in producing it.

The gentleman from Delaware, indeed told us, he was not the pioneer of the administration ; I never knew that he was called upon to act in that character ; but I hope he will not voluntarily act as the sapper, nor the miner of the administration, especially when he must behold the administration assailed by the two most powerful belligerents in the world, unfortunately aided I fear, too, Sir, by an host of domestic sappers and miners, and underminers in the bargain. I am sure, Sir, the gentleman will not take upon himself such a character. The gentleman, however, did not withhold from us an intimation, at least of his substitute—an intimation which could not be mistaken. It was war with France. The question, therefore, as to him is at an end upon this point. War is the substitute.

But, the gentleman from Connecticut, (Mr. Hillhouse) after protesting against furnishing any substitute, intimates merely that he is in favor of an armed commerce. Why, Sir, do gentlemen in the opposition manifest such a reluctance in producing a substitute, if they have one ? They seem to be laboring under an impression that this is a mere question, between themselves and the administration ; an unimportant question of ins and outs. The question is certainly of a very different description. It is a question between this nation, and foreign nations. It is a question involving our national existence and independence, and the dearest rights of the people.

Let me tell these gentlemen, Sir, that the people have a right to demand a substitute from them, if they have one ; not merely a vague insinuation to fill up a chasm in a defective argument, but a written proposition, reduced to form, presented for serious consideration ; that every word may be strictly examined, and all its bearings seen ; then, Sir, we should be in a state of preparation to make a choice between such substitute, and the measures of the administration.

Besides, Sir, if this obligation were disregarded, every rule of criticism, every principle of common sense would require a substitute. If you criticise upon a sentence in writing, the criticism is incomplete until you shew a better. In law pleadings, if you object to a plea, as defective, you are bound to show a better. And, certainly, Sir, the magnitude of the question, does not les-

sen the obligation imposed by the ordinary rules of common sense. Again, Sir, I hardly could have supposed, that gentlemen of such lofty pretensions to wisdom and talents, would have contented themselves with the humble office of finding fault, without furnishing the proper correction. This inactive conduct, this doing nothing for the people, in these dangerous and critical times, can furnish but a poor claim to the people's gratitude and applause.

But, Sir, I will consider the gentleman's substitute, even with the glimmering views of it, which he has presented. His substitute is an armed commerce. Would he extend it to acts of reprisal? If so, it is immediate war. Would he stop short of that? It would still be a war; but of a more inefficient kind. If our vessels are to arm, I presume their arms are to be used in self defence; they would be used against both the belligerents. In the present temper of Great Britain, the first gun fired in a spirit of hostility, even with a blank cartridge; or if it were a pop gun, would be instant war. It would be the signal to her navy to seize upon the whole of our commerce, which would be spread upon the ocean, the moment of raising the embargo. The gentleman's substitute I, therefore, believe to be war, and war of the most inefficient kind. A repeal of the embargo, without a substitute, is submission.—Submission to what! to colonization, to taxation, to tribute!!

That this is the true character of the British orders and acts of parliament, we not only know from the measures themselves, but we know it was so understood in the British parliament, at the time of their adoption. As an evidence of this fact, let me call your most serious attention, Sir, to some of the observations made in parliament, at the time of their adoption, particularly the observations of lord Grenville in the House of Lords.

His lordship said, "as to the duties proposed to be levied under these orders of council, he should only say, that when the peace of 1782 took place, he never thought that he should have lived, or that the British parliament should have lived to see the day when a proposition should be made to tax America!" And when a similar suggestion was made in the House of Commons, what was Mr. Canning's reply? Did he deny the object? No, Sir: but begged the gentlemen in the opposition not to tell the secret to the Americans! Hush, gentlemen, was, in substance, his reply. Thus adding indignity and insult to the arrogant pretension. Upon this part of the subject I shall make no comment! It is impossible to improve the eloquence of this parliamentary language! It must strike deep into the heart of every true American!!

The gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Hillhouse) says, no tribute will be paid, because there will be no inducement to pay it.

France will not receive vessels into her ports, which have submitted to such a disgrace. It is admitted that the tribute is imposed ; and to avoid the payment of it, we are to look to France : to give up our national character, and our national honor to the safe keeping of the French emperor. [The gentleman rose to explain. He protested against making any such inference] This was admitted. He only stated the facts, and I supplied the inference. The inference from the facts I deem irresistible. I despise, sir, this miserable subterfuge. Let us act like a nation of freemen—Let us be the conservators of our own honor and character. We should be the gainers by it upon the most economical calculation, in pounds, shillings, and pence. Our national character is now worth more than the delusive gains held out by this miserable commerce ; and would sell for more in every market ; submit to this disgraceful tribute, it would not be worth a cent, and would not sell for it in any market.

The gentleman from Connecticut (Mr, Hillhouse) says, that the embargo is submission to the mandates of both France and Great Britain, and therefore dishonourable. He makes this statement—France says, you shall not trade with Great Britain—Great Britain says, you shall not trade with France—and we say, we will not trade with either, and therefore gratify both. The fallacy of this argument consists in the misstatement. France says you may trade with me, and I am anxious you should do so, but you shall not trade with Great Britain ; we say, we will not trade with you, nor with Great Britain. Now, sir, is this yielding to the mandate, or gratifying the wish of France ? Certainly not.—Great Britain uses the same language, and meets with the same reply. Now I contend that we have neither yielded submission, nor gratified the wish of either ; but have resisted the wishes and mandates of both ; and I have no doubt that both are astonished at the honorable and dignified attitude we have assumed and hitherto persisted in.

But, sir, the gentleman intimates, that the government of the United States, has suspended a rod over the head of Great Britain, and asks, whether any American would negociate with a rod suspended over his head ? Let me ask in turn, sir, if the gentleman's proposition, is not submission ; not indeed, while the rod is suspended over our heads ; but whilst it is applied with the most unrelenting severity to our backs ? I was really hurt, Sir, to see that any gentleman could make an observation which would bear the most distant tint of an apology for great Britain ; and I cannot conceive how any gentleman can reconcile it to himself, when he reflects upon the many outrages committed by Great Britain against the United States, before even any attempt was made to do ourselves justice—and that these outrages were increased, in proportion to our patience under them.

The gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Lloyd) expresses his fears of some design for the destruction of commerce. He tells us, our commerce has grown to an enormous size, and warns us that it is not to be trifled with. The gentleman from Connecticut, too, tells us, that the avowed, was not the real object, of the embargo laws; and that he so prophesied at the time of passing them —that their real object was to encourage manufactures, at the expense of commerce. This charge of insincerity is a serious one. It is of a nature to impose a restraint upon the feelings, against making the merited reply. It has excited my surprise more than any thing I ever heard fall from that gentleman; and the only apology I can find for it, is, that he unfortunately prophesied it. It is a painful effort of the mind to admit ourselves false prophets. By this time, it is impossible, but the gentleman must be convinced, that this was a false prophecy. He reminds me of two lines in Hudibras:

"A man convinc'd against his will,
"Is of the same opinion still."

The gentleman must be convinced, but retains the same opinion. Sir, whether it be a suspicion, or a jealousy, or whatever delusion the gentleman is laboring under, I peremptorily deny the existence of the fact he has insinuated. How has it happened, that the commerce of the United States has become so enormous; but from the fostering and protecting influence of the federal government? What act of hostility against commerce, has ever been shewn by the government? I challenge the gentleman to name one, or a single act from the southern members unfavorable to our commercial prosperity. On the other hand, have we not always concurred in the stimuli given to commerce by discriminating duties, both on tonnage and merchandize, by the drawback system? and many other acts not material now to mention. It has been from these causes, added to the enterprizes of our people, that commerce has arrived to such a pitch of prosperity. They certainly do not warrant the charge brought against the government.

But what has excited my surprise, more than any thing else, respecting this suggestion is, that the delusion upon the gentleman's mind, should be so strong as to banish his recollection of the local interests of the different states in the union. He seems to suppose that the southern are manufacturing states—This is not the fact. The fact is, that the commercial are, also, the manufacturing states. The southern states are agricultural and commercial, not manufacturing, except in the household way; and that is not the species of manufacturing, that has excited the gentleman's alarm. The peculiar organization of society in the southern states, will, for a long time, forbid large establishments of domestic manufactures. This is the kind which gives the gentleman so much alarm; and, in this kind, the southern states

have no local interests whetever. They have, however, an essential interest in commerce, although, generally, the merchants carrying it on, may not reside within them. The agriculturists know, that a prosperous commerce is essential to good prices, and, therefore, they have always contributed to its protection and prosperity. In this state of facts, the gentleman may find a perfect security against his extravagant, and unfounded jealousies. But the gentleman is alarmed, because he has discovered, in the President's replies to sundry addresses from the manufacturers, expressions of satisfaction at their prosperity and improvement in the manufacturing system. But the President has no where expressed an intimation, or a wish, that this improvement, or prosperity, should be encouraged and promoted at the expense of commerce. And if he were to indulge so extraordinary an inclination, he could not expect to get a vote south of Potomac, in favor of the system. Suppose the merchants had addressed the President, in the days of their prosperity, would he not have expressed his satisfaction at the circumstance? And would such expression have been just ground, or any ground, of alarm and jealousy to the manufacturer? Certainly not Sir. Every patriot must rejoice at the prosperity of each, and every class of citizens. Indeed, Sir, did not the gentleman himself, in the course of his observations, with a laudable animation, express his high satisfaction at the doings of his own legislature, giving encouragement to colonel Humphries, in his attempts at introducing manufactures into the state of Connecticut? Proceedings highly honorable both to the Legislature and colonel Humphries; and which I have also seen with great satisfaction. But, Sir, would it be correct to infer from this circumstance, that commerce is to be assailed and prostrated? Such an inference would be as idle and absurd in this case, as it is in relation to the views of the general government. Indeed, Sir, I concur perfectly with the gentleman in the opinions he has expressed upon the manufacturing system, in relation to the commercial. I have taken more pains in repelling this extraordinary jealously or suspicion, in the hope that in correcting the public sentiment, in this respect, it would, at the same time, dissipate a great portion of the objections to the embargo laws, which seem to me at this time, to be imperiously demanded, by the extraordinary crisis of our foreign relations.

I am now approaching a part of this subject, Mr. President, which fills me with regret. I know its delicacy, Sir, and deeply regret the necessity which impels the examination of it. It is however rendered indispensible, perhaps, by exterior events; but certainly by observations made in the course of this debate. I allude, Sir, to the inexecution of the embargo laws; or, rather, Sir, to the suggested incapacity of the government to enforce their observance. The gentleman from Connecticut, (Mr. Hillhouse)

tells us, directly, that the government has not power to enforce the execution of these laws. The gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Lloyd) even points out the mode of resistance. He tells us they may be resisted, first, by town meetings, then by petitions, then by legislative resolutions, and, finally, by insurrections and rebellion. [Mr Lloyd rose to explain. He said, "he did not say that this would be the course of events. He only stated them, abstractly, as probable results from those laws."] The gentleman is correct in his statement. I meant to be understood, as stating his observations in that way. It cannot escape observation, however, Mr. President, that this is the practical process now going on in the state, the gentleman has the honor to represent.

It is submitted to the patriotism and good sense of those gentlemen to determine, whether mentioning these circumstances, even in that way, may not have some tendency to produce effects, which must be so much deprecated by all; and permit me to hope, Sir, by none more than by those gentlemen. And whether, Sir, they are not calculated to keep up the delusions in foreign nations, which, I believe in God, to be the principal causes of our present embarrassments. These circumstances were the less to be expected from gentlemen, who, a few years ago, arrogated to themselves the exclusive appellation of lovers of order and good government, whilst their political opponents were denounced as anarchists and disorganizers, and not even possessing virtue and honesty enough to be trusted with the public treasury. This, Sir, was an imposing appellation; and as long as its sincerity was confided in, it preserved these gentlemen in the dominion of the U. States.

It was hardly to have been expected that these gentlemen would now be found the first to sound the alarm, in favor of anarchy and confusion; nor was it to have been expected, Sir, that the eastern states, which were the first to press the constitution upon us, and which have reaped a golden harvest from its operations, should be the first to wish to absolve themselves from its sacred obligations.

But, Mr. President, I believe this government does possess power sufficient to enforce the embargo laws. The real character of our government seems to be entirely misunderstood by foreigners, and not fully appreciated by some of our own citizens. It has all the strength of *execution*, with the most despotic governments upon earth. It is aided, too, by the knowledge of every citizen; that when its will is pronounced, it is the fair expression of the will of the majority. The checks of this government are exclusively upon its *deliberations*, not upon its powers of *execution*. So far from it, that the constitution has expressly provided, that the government should possess all means necessary and proper for executing its specified powers. There is no limitation, whatever,

upon the means for executing the general will, when fairly and deliberately pronounced. Nothing could be more absurd than to suppose, that after so many checks had been imposed upon *deliberation* in pronouncing the public will, after that will was thus pronounced, that any means, whatever, for its *execution* should be withheld.

Again, Sir, the fundamental principle of our government is, that the majority shall govern. This principle is known and respected by every citizen, and by none more than the people of Massachusetts. They are taught to respect it from the cradle to manhood. First in their town meetings—then in their legislature—and, finally in the general government. They know too well the fatal consequences of resisting it. I have perfect confidence, therefore, in the people of Massachusetts; and, if their electioneering leaders and partizans, should unfortunately stimulate some of them into insurrection, I have no doubt but that the militia of that state, when lawfully called on, will obey the call, and will do their duty. Such a movement would share the fate of all similar attempts which have preceded it; and its only consequences would be, that its authors, as they would be the first to merit the fate, so they would become the first victims of it. But, Sir, I have but little apprehension from these threats of insurrection and rebellion, for other reasons.

The peculiar interests of the people of Massachusetts forbid the attempt. A few leaders may, perhaps, postpone their interests to their love of power—But few, however, could enjoy the power under any new order of things, and the people at large would soon see that their interests were sacrificed to the indulgence of this infatuated ambition of the few.

Let this subject, Mr. President, be a little further examined, in reference to the local interests of the eastern states, as members of this union. Potomac may be considered as the boundary line between the commercial and agricultural states.

When our first difficulties with the belligerents occurred, it respected merely a commercial right. What was the conduct of the merchants, and commercial states, upon the subject? You have heard, Sir, their memorials read, calling upon the government, in a voice too loud to be suppressed, to protect them in their commercial rights; the call was obeyed.—As I think this part of the subject ought to be well understood, I beg the indulgence of the Senate to read their own proceedings thereupon.

"The Senate resumed the consideration of the report of the committee, made on the 5th instant, on that part of the message of the President of the U. States, which relates to the violation of neutral rights and the impressment of American seamen.

On motion,

To commit the second resolution, reported:

It passed in the negative.

On motion,

To strike out the following words in the second resolution, reported.

"*Demand and insist upon the restoration of the property of their citizens, captured and condemned on the pretext of its being employed in a trade with the enemies of Great Britain, prohibited in time of peace; and upon the indemnification of such American citizens, for their losses and damages sustained by those captures and condemnations, and to*"—

It was determined in the negative, yeas 13, nays 16.

The yeas and nays having been required by one-fifth of the senators present, those who voted in the affirmative, are,

Messrs. Adair, Baldwin, Bradley, Gaillard, Howland, Logan, Maclay, Moore, Plumer, Smith, *of Vermont*, Sumpter, Turner, Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are,

Messrs. Adams, Anderson, Bayard, Gilman, Hillhouse, Kitchel, Mitchell, Pickering, Smith, *of Maryland*, Smith, *of New York*, Smith, *of Ohio*, Smith, *of Tennessee*, Thruston, Tracy, White, Wright:

And several amendments to the said second resolution having been adopted;

On motion,

To agree thereto as amended,

It was determined in the affirmative, yeas 23, nays 7.

The yeas and nays having been required by one-fifth of the senators present, those who voted in the affirmative, are,

Messrs. Adams, Anderson, Baldwin, Bayard, Gaillard, Gilman, Hillhouse, Howland, Kitchel, Logan, Maclay, Mitchill, Moore, Pickering, Smith, *of Maryland*, Smith, *of New-York*, Smith, *of Ohio*, Smith, *of Tenessee*, Tracy, Turner, White, Worthington, Wright.

Those who voted in the negative, are,

Messrs. Adair, Bradley, Plumer, Smith, *of Vermont*, Stone, Sumter, Thruston.

So it was,

Resolved, That the President of the U. S. be requested to demand the restoration of the property of their citizens, captured and condemned on the pretext of its being employed in a trade with the enemies of Great Britain, prohibited in time of peace; and the indemnification of such American citizens, for their losses and damages sustained by these captures and condemnations; and to enter into such arrangements with the British government, on this and all other differences subsisting between the two nations, (but particularly respecting the impressment of American seamen,) as may be consistent with the honor and interests of

the United States, and manifest their earnest desire to obtain for themselves and their citizens by amicable negociation, that justice to which they are entitled."

At this time the question involved only a commercial right.—What was the conduct of the merchants then? They came forward and pledged their lives and fortunes to support the government in any measures for its protection. The question is now changed.—To the original question, is added a question of national sovereignty and independence. What is now the conduct of these same merchants? They tell you, sir, to tread back your steps, give up the contest, and disgrace your country. These merchants, too, threaten you with insurrection and rebellion unless you yield implicit obedience to their mandates.

Again, Sir, I have little apprehension from these threats, for the following reasons:—first, many of the individuals engaged in these excitements, I am told, are gentlemen of property and families. They are therefore, now, in the enjoyment of every political and domestic blessing; their infatuated passions to the contrary notwithstanding. I think persons of this description will pause, before they hazard all these blessings; and a moment's impartial reflection will be sufficient to check their career. In the next place, there are many local advantages accruing to the people of the Eastern states from the operations of the general government. They consist principally of the following, although there are others.

1. The protection afforded to their carrying trade, by discriminating duties, both on tonnage and merchandize.

2. Protection and facility afforded to the coasting trade.

3. Protection to their fisheries by duties on foreign fish.

4. Affording a good market for their surplus manufactures and other articles.

5. Payment of the public debt at par, which was bought up at very low rates.

6. As a result from all these advantages, the protection of their population on the seaboard, by lessening the inducements to emigration.

Permit me, Sir, to remind the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Lloyd) that these advantages are not to be trifled with.

But, Sir, I have heard it intimated that these advantages could be compensated by a connection with Great Britain. Indulge me, Sir, with an examination of this idea. A connection between New England and Old England, could only be for the benefit of the latter. They are essentially rivals in every occupation. First, in navigation—second, in exports. The exports of New-England are principally fish and beef. It would be a great object with Old England, utterly to destroy the New England fish market: and

the Irish beef would come into an advantageous competition with the export of that article.

These are permanent points of competition, unalterably fixed in the nature of things; they cannot be altered, nor destroyed by any sudden ebullition of passions; nor by any connection resulting therefrom.

Again, Sir, what would be the effect of such a connexion upon the rest of the United States. In that case, the discriminating duties now in favor of the New-England states would be turned against them, and would probably be given to the middle states, and thus New England would be effectually excluded from carrying the bulky and heavy productions of the southern states. Discrimination might even be made in favor of British ships. It is a matter of no consequence to the agriculturalist, whether his produce is carried to market in a New-England or Old England ship. The only interest he has in the transaction is the price of his produce; and that could always be driven to its highest point by the competition of British tonnage and British capital alone, without taking into the estimate the tonnage and capital of the middle states. The people of the southern states are perfectly sensible of the local advantages their eastern brethren enjoy from the operation of the general government. But they envy them not—they rejoice in their prosperity; and the southern people are pleased with the recollection that they contribute to this prosperity, they find in return their compensation in the general safety and protection; I do not mean safety and protection against any internal movements; upon that point I would agree with our eastern brethren upon a reciprocal absolution from all obligations; I mean safety and protection against foreign aggression. Under this plain and obvious view of this part of the subject, Mr. President, I should be disposed to think that our eastern brethren would be the last to desire to absolve themselves from the sacred obligations of the constitution.

In the southern states we feel no resentments nor jealousies against our eastern friends. There are no inducements with us to foster and encourage such unpleasant and mischievous feelings. The gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Lloyd) has ventured to interpose an opinion between Great Britain and France, respecting the character of the quarrel between them. He has ventured to say, Sir, that France is fighting for lawless domination; whilst Great Britain is fighting for her natali solum, for her national existence. Sir, in my opinion, it must be inauspicious to the interests of the people of the United States, when their rulers not only feel, but express sympathies in favor of one of the belligerent powers; and surely, Sir, the gentleman must feel no small sympathy for one of the belligerents if he believes the character of the quarrel to be such as he has described it.

In my judgment, Sir, the United States have nothing to do with the character of the quarrel of the belligerents ; but I differ entirely with the gentleman on this point. I believe the character of the quarrel is preciseiy the same on both sides—they are both fighting for lawless domination : and I believe that Great Britain has full as much chance of conquering France, as France has of conquering Great Britain. The only difference between them consists in the difference in the objects of their lawless domination. France claims dominion on the land, Great Britain on the water ; they are both equally hostile to us.

The difference to us consists only in the different degrees of force they can bring to bear upon us—in this respect Great Britain does us most injury. We are, thank God, remote from the influence of French power—but the power of Great Britain extends to our shores. France, when she can, seizes and burns our vessels—Great Britain having more power on the ocean, seizes and confiscates them. The only limit of their hostility isthe limit of their power. Both are equally the objects of our just resistance and punishment if we possessed the power.

I rejoice that I have heard no apologist for France on this floor, nor any where else. I feel, Sir, a condescension in introducing, for the purpose of denying, the idle and ridiculous tale of French influence, which has so disrespectfully and disgracefully to our country, been circulated by newspapers. Sir, this idle and ridiculous tale of French influence, I have strong reasons to believe, was originally suggested by British influence. The tale was probably invented by the British cabinet about the same time of the invention of the tale respecting the secret article in the treaty of Tilsit, that the Danes had agreed to give up their fleet to the French emperor to facilitate his invasion of Great Britain. This tale I believe lord Hutchinson has since pronounced, in the British parliament, to be a falsehood. About the same period this same energetic British cabinet probably determined upon the destruction of American commerce, although the orders for that purpose were not actually issued for several months afterwards.—Some tale was thought necessary for the justification of the act, and the suggestion of French influence operating upon our councils was probably the one suggested.

I have heard it said, and believe it to be true, that the governor of Nova Scotia made the suggestion, in a letter addressed to certain British partisans in Boston. It is hardly to be presumed, that he would have taken upon himself the responsibility of such a suggestion, without the authority of the cabinet. I am inclined to think that this fact could be proved in a court of justice. Perhaps there may be gentlemen here from Boston, who could give us more particular information upon this subject. I feel Sir, a condescension in touching upon this subject. I wish to see all

extraneous influence utterly banished from the country, and the only operating influence—American influence.

I have, now, Sir, gone through this unpleasant, and, I fear, unprofitable discussion, respecting the character of measures heretofore adopted by the government; the only hope I have from it is, that it may put us into a better temper for deliberating on the measures now proper to be adopted. Let me then, Mr. President, call the attention of the senate, to the actual situation of the U. States at this time.

The United States are now left alone to protect neutral principles against the belligerent encroachments of a warring world.—In all former wars, the belligerent encroachments have been proportioned to the influence of the powers at war, compared to the influence of those remaining at peace; but I believe history presents no example of the warring powers at any former time putting at defiance all neutral rights, all public law. It remained for the present times to witness this unexampled aggression; and it remained for the United States alone to bear the shock. This state of things imposes on them a great, a sacred obligation. The obligation of protecting neutral principles.—Principles which lessen the inducements to war, and mitigate its rigor.—Principles highly interesting to mankind; not only to the present, but to future generations, and in a peculiar manner, to the people of the United States. This arises from their remote situation from the great contending nations of Europe.—Hitherto, Sir, the talents displayed in defining, and the magnanimity in protecting these principles, have obtained for the United States, the respect and sympathy of an astonished world.—And shall we, Sir, at the moment of an extraordinary pressure, basely abandon them without striking a blow? Forbid it interest! Forbid it honor! Forbid it American gallantry!—But, Sir, some gentlemen seem not sufficiently impressed with the hostile character of the belligerent aggressions.—With respect to those of France, there is but one opinion. They amount to hostility itself.—But, Sir, to my astonishment, the acts of Great Britain seem not to have made the same strong impression on the minds of some gentlemen. Let me then inquire Sir, into the real character of acts, which can by some gentlemen be palliated or excused? They are acts amounting to colonization and taxation.—To the exercise of the national sovereignty of the United States. Great Britain has even gone so far, as to exercise an act of sovereignty over the people of the United States, which they would not entrust to Congress; but retained to themselves in their highest sovereign capacity.

The British orders of council, now sanctioned by an act of parliament, direct all vessels, laden with the produce of the U. States destined to any of the ports of the enemies of Great Britain, to call at a British port, and then to pay an enormous transit duty,

and accept a license for the further prosecution of the voyage; and upon refusal, they are forced to do so by British armed ships.—This is literally and precisely the introduction of the old, and long established colonial principle of coercing all the commerce of the colony to the ports of the mother country, there to pay a transit duty for their protection by the mother country.—In the colonial state, the mandate of the mother country was sufficient to effect this object.—Now the same object is effected by an armed force.—This is the only real difference in the two cases. But, Sir, this is not all; Great Britain has attempted by an act of Parliament, to exercise an act of sovereignty over the United States, solemnly given by the people to their Congress:—Amongst the powers given to Congress, I find these words.—"Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations," &c. Now, Sir, permit me to read an extract from an act of Parliament, and see whether it does not only impose a tax upon American productions, but also exercises this act of national sovereignty delegated by the people to Congress.

"And whereas it is expedient and necessary in order effectually to accomplish the object of such orders, that duties of customs should be granted upon certain goods exported from Great Britain; we, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom, in Parliament assembled, do most humbly beseech your majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the passing of this act, there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, upon all goods, wares, and merchandise, enumerated or described in the tables (A.) (B.) and (C.) annexed to this act, exported from Great-Britain, the several duties and customs, as the same are respectively described and set forth in figures in said tables."

In those tables marked A. B. C. are to be found productions of the United States. It has been said, that Great Britain may lay an export duty upon any goods within her ports.—That is readily admitted—it being a mere municipal regulation.—But Great Britain has no right to compel our ships to carry our productions into her ports, for the purpose of imposing duties thereon; and this is the act regulating our commerce, of which I complain.

Again, Sir, Great Britain has attempted by this act of Parliament to lay an export duty upon the productions of the United States, a power not even entrusted to the discretion of Congress.—I find in the constitution, these words: "no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state." Here then is an express prohibition to Congress against laying a duty on any arti-

cles exported from any state ; yet Great Britain has attempted by an act of Parliament, to lay an export duty on cotton exported from one of the United States—an authority which can only be exercised by the people in their highest sovereign capacity.—It is true Sir, that Mr. Canning offered to commute this duty into an entire prohibition of the article, as an export from Great Britain.—This, Sir, was only adding insult to injury, and shewed that Mr. Canning possessed very little knowledge of the human character, if he expected to soothe the feelings by insulting the understanding.

I regret that so much respect was shewn to this proposition, as to forward it to our government. It would have been more agreeable to me, if the American minister had thrown the proposition back upon Mr. Canning.

It is true, Mr. President, that the export duty, is to be collected in London, and not in Charleston. But, Sir, it is not the better in principle on that account ; and it is worse in practice. A vessel sailing from Charleston, is to be forced into London, for the purpose of paying this tribute—better would it be to collect it in Charleston ; because the circuity of the voyage would be saved, and many other vexations and expences avoided which are now incurred by being forced into London, to make the payment ; and if this measure were to be submitted to, I should not be at all surprised to see his most gracious majesty in the spirit of a mitigated retaliation, send out his collectors to the ports of the U. S. for the accommodation of our merchants. In that case, I presume, we should all admit it to be a duty imposed upon an article exported from a particular state. Are we, Sir, not only basely to surrender to G. Britain our rights, entrusted to us by the people, but treacherously to them to surrender rights reserved to themselves in their highest sovereign capacity ? And in a case like this, Sir, can it be necessary to resort to argument, to rouse the indignant feelings of the American people ?

Mr. President, the eyes of the world are now turned upon us ; if we submit to these indignities and aggressions, Great Britain herself would despise us ; she would consider us as an outcast amongst nations ; she would not own us for her offspring, France would despise us ! all the world would despise us ; and what is infinitely worse, we should be compelled to despise ourselves ! ! ! If we resist, we shall command the respect of our enemies, the sympathies of the world, and the noble approbation of our own consciences.

Mr. President, our fate is in our own hands ; let us have union and we have nothing to fear. So highly do I prize union, at this awful moment, that I would prefer any one measure of resistance with union, to any other measure of resistance and division ; let us then, Sir, banish all personal feelings ; let us present to our enemies,

the formidable front of an indissoluble band of brothers; nothing else is necessary to our success. Mr. President, unequal as this contest may seem; favored as we are by our situation, and under the blessing of a beneficent Providence, who has never lost sight of these United States, in times of difficulty and trial, I have the most perfect confidence, that if we prove true to ourselves, we shall triumph over our enemies. Deeply impressed with these considerations, I am prepared to give to the resolution, a flat and decided negative.

NOTE.

IT was intended, in the course of the foregoing observations, to shew, that the Brirish board of trade had at length, undertaken to regulate our commerce with foreign nations, even when it did not pass through British ports. The paper intended to be offered as evidence of this fact, was then mislaid. It is now subjoined for that purpose.

"THE lords of the committee of council, for trade and foreign plantations, having authorised us to make public the following answers to certain questions proposed by us to their lordships, we publish them for the information of all whom they may concern.

THOS. BARING,
A. GLENNIE,
THOS. MULLETT.

LONDON, 15th Aug. 1808.

Question 1.

HIS majesty's order in council of the 4th July, 1808, having ordered, that all hostilities against Spain on the part of his majesty shall immediately cease, and that the blockade of all the ports of Spain, except such as may be still in possession, or under controul of France, shall be forthwith raised—

Can an American vessel proceed from a port in the United States of America, with a cargo, the produce of the United States, or colonial produce, direct to any port of Spain or Portugal, not being in the possession of the enemies of Great Britain, and return back to a port in the United States direct, with a cargo the growth or produce of Spain or Portugal, without being liable to capture and condemnation, under the orders of council of the 11th

and 25th of November, 1807, and the several acts of parliament passed to carry them into effect?

Answer.

American vessels may proceed from a port in the United States of America, with a cargo, the produce of the United States, or colonial produce, *provided such produce be not the produce of the enemy's colonies*, direct to any port of Spain or Portugal; such port not being in the possession, or under the control of the enemies of Great Britain, and return back to a port in the United States direct, with a cargo the growth or produce of Spain or Portugal.

Question 2.

Can any American vessel, having entered a port in Spain, previous to the commencement of hostilities by the patriots against the enemy, proceed from such port with a cargo, the growth and produce of Spain, direct to a port in the United States, without being liable to a seizure and condemnation as above?

Answer.

An American vessel having entered a port in Spain, previous to the commencement of hostilities by the patriots against the enemy, may proceed from such port with a cargo the growth and produce of Spain, direct to a port in the United States, without being liable to seizure and condemnation as above, *unless the vessel entered in breach of the orders in council.*"

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